The Salaries of Teachers in English Canada, 1900-1940: A Reappraisal
Appendix

This appendix is accompanied by tables additional to those in the text of the article. Appendix tables are numbered A1, A2, etc.

1. The Sources

As we note in the text, we exploit five main sources, all of which have their limitations. One source is the published Census of Canada, which provides, for 1901, 1921, and 1931, average salary figures for teachers and other occupations nationally, by province, and by gender. But these figures present several difficulties for us. The 1911 published census does not include wages by occupation so there is a twenty-year gap in the record; moreover, the census figures provide no help with discerning trends between census years, whereas we are as interested in inter-census years as we are in decadal changes. Another problem is a conventional complaint: the snapshots of the census figures occur at points in time that are not necessarily representative of continuing economic, social, and demographic trends, or indeed may distort them: the 1921 and 1931 censuses, for example, do not reflect very well the state of the economy during the middle and late 1920s. For the same reason we do not draw on the 1941 census in the text (though we include figures from it in one table simply as an additional reference point). A third difficulty is that the census included all teachers, not only those working in provincial public schools, but also those in private schools, business colleges, federal schools, and so on, so its figures differ from those in other sources.[1]

The various *Annual Reports* of the provincial departments of education have the advantage of providing annual salary returns from the turn of the twentieth century onwards, but the published data are incomplete, categorized in various and often non-comparable ways within

[1]See *Census of Canada, 1901*, *Bulletin 1. Wage-Earners by Occupations* (Ottawa, 1907); *Census of Canada, 1931*, vol. V, Tables 20 and 22 [1921] and Tables 19 and 20 [1931]; *Census of Canada, 1941*, vol. VI, Table 6.

the same province, to say nothing of between provinces, and for some provinces for certain years, non-existent. To give but two examples: the Nova Scotia Department of Education *Annual Reports* give average salaries from 1918 to 1922 for male and female teachers by their class of certificate, but do not provide average salary figures for all teachers or for rural/urban categories; in 1924, the reports give average salaries categorized by certificates and by rural or urban teaching for both male and female teachers, but do not give provincial averages. The British Columbia *Annual Reports* do not give male and female salaries in, for example, 1924-26, 1929-30, 1934-35, and 1939-40, though rural versus urban average salaries for all teachers are given in all those years. Separate schools existed only in some provinces; in the provincial *Annual Reports* the salaries of separate school teachers are sometimes treated as distinct and sometimes not; and separate school teachers were in any case only a small minority of teachers. Thus for this national survey we have not attempted to distinguish between separate and public school teachers.

A third important source consists of the annual surveys of education by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.[2] From 1920 onwards, the DBS made heroic efforts to persuade the provinces to gather the same statistics and categorize them in the same way, in order to make possible a comprehensive national portrait; however, it took many years to achieve that goal.[3]

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[2]The titles of the annual reports vary. The first was *Statistical Report on Education in Canada 1921*, followed by *Annual Report on Education Statistics in Canada 1922* [*Annual Report 1922*], and *Annual Survey of Education in Canada* [*Annual Survey*] (1923-36). These volumes were preceded by a volume giving historical series of data, titled *Historical Statistical Survey of Education in Canada* [*Historical Statistical Survey*] (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1921). After 1936 the reports became biennial and titles vary.

[3]See David A. Worton, *The Dominion Bureau of Statistics: A History of Canada's Central Statistical Office and its Antecedents, 1841-1972* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 82ff. There is a detailed account of the attempts to standardize educational statistics in J.C. Miller, *National Government and Education in Federated Democracies: Dominion of Canada* (Lancaster, PA: published by the author, distributed by the

Consequently we find many of the same omissions and non-comparable data that characterize the provincial reports (although occasionally the DBS supplied data *not* available in the provincial publications).[4] Often enough, in the interwar years, the DBS provided tables or written commentary only for those provinces where the data were comparable, allowing the figures for four or five provinces to stand in for "national" data, though it was usually conservative about indicating just how representative those data were. When using the DBS data we have followed this precedent.

A fourth source is the "educational press," professional periodicals published by and for teachers, mostly provincial in orientation, though *The School*, a monthly journal that began in 1914, attempted to maintain Canada-wide coverage. We have also drawn on the *Western School Journal* [*WSJ*] and its successor the *Manitoba School Journal* [*MSJ*], *ATA Magazine*, *BC Teacher*, *Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association*, *Educational Review* (New

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Science Press Printing Co., 1940), 421-30; compatibility problems extended to and beyond mid-century. See also the brief overview of the history of federal-provincial negotiations over the standardization of educational statistics in DBS, *Survey of Elementary and Secondary Education in Canada, 1950-54*, 26-28.

[4]For example: average salaries for all teachers, including both men and women, in Nova Scotia in 1922 are given in DBS, *Annual Report 1922*, 128; they are reported only for male and female teachers separately in the Nova Scotia *AR* for that year.

Brunswick), and the *Journal of Education for Nova Scotia*. These journals provide both data and commentary but require judicious use. There is much anecdotal evidence that is not necessarily dependable, observers tended to cherry-pick the occupational comparisons to highlight teachers' low salaries, and even when that might not be the case we do not know whether the examples are typical or not.

Because it provides consistent data over a long time period, however, our most useful quantitative source is the contribution made by the Canadian Teachers' Federation [CTF], *Trends in the Economic Status of Teachers, 1910-1955*.[5] This study was designed to compare groupings of economically similar moments in the past in order to highlight the inadequate salaries of the mid-1950s and the data are provided at only a handful of key points: 1910, 1920, 1926, 1929, 1933, and 1938 (and after that for other selected years). Ideally, what historians need is a continuous record and the CTF study does not provide that. But the CTF made a thoroughgoing attempt to collect good data and when these were not readily available in published form, sought them out from department of education officials, city superintendents of education, and other sources. By the 1950s, moreover, the CTF had the financial resources to employ good statisticians and economists so that we have considerable confidence in the analytical work. For our purposes, however, there are problems with the CTF data. One major drawback is that national figures for average salary include Quebec (see the discussion in section 5 below). Another is that, with only a few exceptions for some of the larger towns and cities, the CTF data on teachers' salaries do not separate male and female salaries; they combine elementary and secondary schoolteachers' salaries; and they combine principals' and classroom teachers' salaries. Additionally, the study shares, with others, defects due to the inadequacies of Canadian economic statistics in the period.[6]

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[5]Canadian Teachers' Federation [CTF], *Trends in the Economic Status of Teachers, 1910-1955*, Research Study No. 2 (Ottawa: CTF, 1957).

[6]The CTF study discusses these in relation to teachers' wages in some detail, pp. 9-22. But for the early twentieth century, economic data generally, not just those related to education, are problematic. For a comment on the difficulties see Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and

Whatever its drawbacks, however, the CTF study is indispensable because, uniquely among our sources, it gives both current and constant (or what it terms "real purchasing power") dollars for average salaries.[7] The constant dollars are derived from current dollars by "deducting the amount of applicable federal income taxes and then applying the change in the Consumer Price Index:" CTF, *Trends*, 46. There are two constant-dollar series given, one with a base of 100 in 1910 and the other with a base of 100 in 1926 (p. 130); we have used the former in all references.

2. Comparing the Census and CTF Data

To establish salary figures, we have relied primarily on two sets of figures: those drawn from the published *Census of Canada* for 1901, 1921, and 1931 from tables giving wages by individual occupations (the figures for 1911 are not available from this source); and those provided in the CTF study. Each set of figures is deficient in some way for this purpose, but they can be used in a complementary manner. CTF figures begin only in 1910 and do not give male and female salaries separately, either nation-wide or provincially (except for Ontario). The census does not provide totals but gives separate salary figures for men and women. In current dollars, both sets rise over the period 1901-31, with few exceptions (only the salaries of Saskatchewan teachers, both male and female, and of Manitoba women teachers experienced decline in the decade between 1921 and 1931; in other provinces, and for Canada as a whole,

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John English, *Canada 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 81-82. On the methodological approaches used to compare average earnings, see Noah M. Meltz and David Stager, *The Occupational Structure of Earnings in Canada, 1931-1975* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, Canada, 1979), 5.

[7]Wage indexes exist for the period, allowing comparisons between the wages of teachers and other occupations, but they do not give salaries in constant dollars: for example, David Stager, "Elementary and Secondary School Teachers' Salaries in Ontario, 1900 to 1975," paper prepared for The Commission on Declining School Enrolment in Ontario (March 1978, typescript), and Meltz and Stager, *Occupational Structure of Earnings.*

salaries went up). CTF figures provide a finer breakdown for the 1920s; they indicate, in current dollars and for Saskatchewan teachers alone, a slight decline between 1920 and 1926. However, in *constant* dollars, they show the salaries of teachers in all provinces increasing through the 1920s (see Table 3 in the text).

3. Provincial Figures for Teachers' Salaries in DBS, *Historical Statistical Survey*, c.1910-1918

Annual figures for male and female salaries, according to certificate level and/or place of work (urban or rural) are given for most provinces in retrospective tables in the DBS publication, *Historical Statistical Survey*, for most of the first two decades of the twentieth century. Please note, Prince Edward Island is not included and British Columbia for only 1917 to 1919. The figures may be used to confirm and expand on the trends shown by the census and CTF study; they indicate the same pattern of increases, then stagnation or decline given the inflation of the war years, and they allow us to calculate the severity of that inflation. As well, separate figures for men's and women's salaries provide a useful corrective to figures that combine the two. The average salaries in each province are presented in different ways, by category of certificate (which varies according to province), by urban or rural schools, and/or by kinds of schools, making interprovincial comparisons more uncertain than with the census and CTF data. We also chose to use the latter in the text tables because these cover a longer period and because the CTF figures are given in constant dollars. However, we include Table A1, with the DBS figures, as supplementary to the text tables.

4. *Historical Statistics of Canada*: Two Necessary Editions

Some of our basic statistics come from *Historical Statistics in Canada*, both the original volume edited by M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1965), and the second edition of 1983, edited by F.H. Leacy (Toronto: Statistics Canada, 1983) and available on the internet site of Statistics Canada.[8] The introductions to education statistics

[8] www.statcan.gc.ca/bsolc/olc-cel/olc-cel?catno=11-516-XWE&lang=eng

in both volumes provide invaluable commentary on the parameters and pitfalls of the sources. For certain data the first volume remains essential, for example, some very valuable data for education in the first volume is entirely omitted in the second, including R.B.W. Jackson's attempt to create a table for changing educational qualifications in the period (1965 edition, pp. 594-95). In other cases the first edition provides annual figures instead of the five-year intervals of the second publication, or gives statistics for earlier years than found in Leacy. Thus we were able to estimate the figures for school enrolments in 1900 in Saskatchewan and Alberta only from Urquhart and Buckley. For the number of teachers in English Canada, and to calculate their rate of increase, we were able to use Leacy, Series W150-191, for most years. But again, the 1900 figures for teachers in Saskatchewan and Alberta must be estimated from Urquhart and Buckley, p. 594, and the national total is probably lower than it should be; the introduction to the data series characterizes the early figures for Ontario and British Columbia teachers as "questionable" because they were under-reported.

5. The Omission of Quebec

In his magisterial study of municipal finance in Canada, Carl Goldenberg summed up the problem succinctly: "Quebec financial statistics, particularly with respect to education,...are not compatible with those for other provinces, owing in large part to the services provided by the Roman Catholic Church and religious orders; these services in many instances provide in Quebec what is provided by governments (municipal and provincial) in other provinces."[9] In Catholic Quebec, the schools were substantially staffed and heavily subsidized by the work of religious (brothers and nuns). Since the vast majority of the province's teachers were in the Roman Catholic system,[10] this makes any Quebec-wide salary tallies incomparable with those in

[9]H. Carl Goldenberg, *Municipal Finance in Canada: A Study for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Ottawa 1939), 51-52. For a somewhat more extended discussion see Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, *Report*, Book I, 227-29.

[10]Religious teachers in Roman Catholic schools comprised over 40% of the province's teachers: in 1919, 44%, and in 1930, 42%. Lay teachers in Roman Catholic schools comprised

other provinces (see Table A2 in the appendix, where we provide salary figures for Quebec teachers in both the Protestant and Roman Catholic systems). It also skews any national averages downwards for reasons that have little to do with the market-oriented arguments we are concerned with in the text. On the other hand, that means that nationally, teachers in other provinces actually earned higher average salaries than indicated by the CTF figures, which bolsters our arguments in the text. There was a stronger case for including Quebec's Protestant school system since it more closely resembled those of other provinces, but we encountered enough problems with the data to discourage us: some data lump the two Quebec systems together, some segregate them, and it proved difficult to get a data series we felt we could use comparatively.[11]

Whenever possible we have tried to use provincial-level data so that we can exclude Quebec from "national" tables. But that still leaves problems in the text. For example, some national-level data in the DBS sources do not allow the exclusion of Quebec. And the CTF comparisons of teaching with other occupations using the measure of "the average income per person employed in the labour force" all include Quebec. Only the new measure introduced in 1926 in the CTF study, the percentage of per capita income in each province, allows comparisons of teachers and others, province by province, excluding Quebec. In the text and tables (as in this appendix) we have noted where our data does or does not include Quebec.

6. Enrolments, Expenditure, Number of Teachers

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another 44% and 45% respectively. Teachers in Protestant schools were a small minority of the total teaching force, at 12% and 13% respectively. DBS, *Historical Statistical Survey*, 72-73; DBS, *Annual Survey 1930*, 63 (our calculations).

[11]A fine study of the Quebec Protestant school system, however, touches on some of the issues we raise in the text. See Roderick MacLeod and Mary Anne Poutanen, *A Meeting of the People: School Boards and Protestant Communities in Quebec, 1801-1998* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

Enrolments (excluding Quebec) rose from c. 778,000 in 1900 to 1.6 million in 1930, an increase of 106%. As we have noted, figures for 1900 in Saskatchewan and Alberta are estimated from Urquhart and Buckley, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 589. The figure for 1930 is from Leacy, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, W67-93.

Between 1900 and 1930, operating expenditure rose from $8.5 million to over $100 million, and capital costs from $1.7 million to $24.6 million: see Leacy, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, W275-300 (the figures include Quebec).

For the number of teachers, and their rate of increase (our calculations), see Leacy, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, W150-191. The four provinces with recorded expenditure on salaries are Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta (our calculations for totals): see DBS, *Historical Statistical Survey*, 100-103, and DBS, *Elementary and Secondary Education in Canada, 1936-38*, 71.

7. Regional Salary Differences

Generally in the provinces, salaries steadily increased during the first decade and up to the war years (though in Alberta and Saskatchewan, the salaries of most teachers, both male and female, experienced a drop in 1912 before rebounding the next year); during the war, all were hit by reductions or much smaller rates of increase. See the tables in DBS, *Historical Statistical Survey*, 83ff. In no province did salaries match the rate of inflation from 1914 to 1919 and most fell far behind (calculated from the DBS tables using the Bank of Canada inflation calculator: www.bankofcanada.ca/en/rates/inflation_calc.html). For Ontario, David Stager provides an index of teachers' salaries and general wages that illustrates the pattern; see "Elementary and Secondary School Teachers' Salaries in Ontario," 18. On the impact of the war on teachers' salaries, see Nancy M. Sheehan, "World War I and Provincial Educational Policy in English Canada," in *Historical Perspectives on Educational Policy in Canada: Issues, Debates and Case Studies*, ed. Eric W. Ricker and B. Anne Wood (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1995), 259, 269. For cost-of-living figures during the war and immediate post-war years, see Leacy, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, Series K1-7. Contemporaries estimated the rise in the cost of living between c. 1914 and 1920 at 70%: for example see *WSJ* XV, 5 (May 1920): 165, and

Manitoba, *Report of Commission on Status and Salaries of Teachers* (September 1919), 12-13. For the effect on teachers' salaries, see also *WSJ* XIV, 11 (Nov. 1919): 365, and XV, 5 (May 1920): 165; *The School* VIII, 8 (April 1920): 488.

Though we have not attempted to explain regional salary disparities in this article, the issue has not been addressed elsewhere and deserves attention. For example, one explanation might lie in different rates of feminization; the teaching force was somewhat more feminized in the Maritimes than in the West. On the other hand, the differences in average salaries may have had something to do with the proportions of high school to elementary teachers in each province. For example, G.M. Weir noted that British Columbia had a higher proportion of [well-paid] teachers in the upper grades than in some other provinces.[12] Again, there is the issue of regional economic disparities and cost-of-living differences: it may be that compared to other occupations, teachers in Nova Scotia were not nearly as badly off, or that British Columbia teachers were as well off, as our figures seem to suggest. In all likelihood this problem needs intensive quantitative analysis between and within regions. The work of Herbert Emery and Clint Levitt represents a helpful first step, but their study is limited to thirteen Canadian cities and since so many teachers worked in rural and small urban communities, analysis would need to be extended to these.[13] Though primarily concerned with the feminization issue, one model study that addresses regional differences in the United States is Joel Perlmann and Robert A. Margo, *Women's Work? American Schoolteachers, 1650-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

8. Teacher Certification and Supply

The classification systems for teaching certificates and the related terminology varied by province, as did the number of categories. In order to create comparable categories we have grouped teachers into three classes, with the third representing the least-qualified and the first,

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[12]*BC Teacher* XI, 4 (Dec. 1931): 9.

[13]See J.C. Herbert Emery and Clint Levitt, "Cost of living, real wages and real incomes in thirteen Canadian cities, 1900-1950," *Canadian Journal of Economics* 35, 1 (Feb. 2002): 115-37.

the best-qualified. A third-class certificate usually required less than a complete high school education, a second-class, grade XI or XII (equal to junior matriculation), and a first-class, grade XII or XIII (senior matriculation). For a pre-war snapshot of teachers' qualifications, see James Collins Miller, *Rural Schools in Canada: Their Organization, Administration and Supervision* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1913), Schedule C (insert between pp. 62 and 63). For the changing levels of education that teachers had over the period, which roughly approximate certification levels, see Urquhart and Buckley, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 594-95. For entry standards to the normal schools, province by province, c.1910, see Miller, *Rural Schools*, 52-53. For the early 1920s see DBS, *Annual Report 1922*, insert between pp. 128 and 129.

There is a large contemporary literature on teacher supply. On shortages in the West before World War I, and drainage of teachers from the Maritimes and Ontario to jobs and better salaries in the three western provinces, see *Educational Review* (Jan. 1905): 191; Nova Scotia, *Annual Report 1911-12*, 182 [hereafter all provincial department of education and city board of education annual reports are cited as *AR*]; Peter Sandiford, "Salaries of Teachers in Ontario," *The School* III, 4 (Dec. 1914): 254. According to one authoritative estimate, between 1910 and 1919 two provinces alone, Alberta and Saskatchewan, absorbed the equivalent of 40% of the teachers turned out from New Brunswick's provincial normal school: *Educational Review* (March 1923): 156. For an illuminating example from the late nineteenth century, see Jean Barman, *Sojourning Sisters: The lives and letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), esp. chaps. 3, 4, and 10.

There is a succinct account of the post-World War I crisis in teacher supply and the reasons for it across Canada and the United States in Manitoba, *Report of Commission...Salaries of Teachers*, 5-9. See also Sheehan, "World War I and Provincial Educational Policy," 254-56. For other examples see C.E. Mark, *The Public Schools of Ottawa* (Ottawa: Pattison Print, 1918), 47-48 ; *The School* VIII, 3 (Nov. 1919): 176 (Nova Scotia); Winnipeg Public School Board, *AR 1921*, 9; *WSJ* XII, 7 (Sept. 1917): 255; *The School* VI, 9 (May 1918): 708 (Manitoba); ad in *The School* VII, 6 (Feb. 1919): 421 (Alberta); *The School* VIII, 2 (Oct. 1919): 118 (Manitoba); *The School* VIII, 3 (Nov. 1919): 176 (Nova Scotia); *The School* VIII, 7 (March 1920): 357 (Ontario);

WSJ XV, 5 (May 1920): 164-65 (United States and Canada generally); *Educational Review*, June 1920, 249 (New Brunswick).

For developments in the 1920s, see for example British Columbia, *Survey of the School System*, by J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir (Victoria: King's Printer, 1925), 196 and 270; J.E. Picot, *A Brief History of Teacher Training in New Brunswick, 1848-1973* (Fredericton: Department of Education, N.B., 1974), 67-72; *The School* XII, 2 (Oct. 1923): 170; *The School* XV, 3 (Nov. 1926): 211; *The School* XVI, 1 (Sept. 1927): 78-80, 96, 102; *MSJ* IV, 8 (April 1942): 20 (survey of teacher supply in Manitoba from early in the century); Gerald Nason, "The Canadian Teachers' Federation: a study of its historical development, interests and activities from 1919 to 1960" (D.Ed. diss., University of Toronto, 1964), 27-29.

9. Comparative Ages of Teachers and the General Workforce

While the text provides some basic data for this matter, it is perhaps worth adding the following. In 1921, 51.1% of the general workforce but 75.2% of teachers were under 35; in 1931 the figures were 50.7% and 71.7% respectively. (These data are not available for 1911.) Teachers in the cities were much older: for example, in 1921, only 8% of male teachers in Toronto were under 25; in Vancouver, 7%; Winnipeg, 9%; Calgary, 15%; Halifax, 14%. For women teachers the figures are: Toronto, 21%; Vancouver, 37%; Winnipeg, 32%; Calgary, 40%; Halifax, 20%. Conversely, those in the countryside were much younger. Our calculations for teachers from *Census of Canada 1921*, vol. 4, Table 4, and *Census of Canada 1931*, vol. III, Table 40; for the general workforce see Urquhart and Buckley, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, C36-46, p. 60.

10. Numbers of Rural Teachers and Schools

This matter is important enough to deserve more amplification than it receives in the text. In note 61 we mention that in 1921-22 in four provinces, with some 40% of Canadian teachers (excluding Quebec), 57.1% were rural teachers: the provinces were Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia (our calculations from DBS, *Annual Report 1922*, 130-33). In 1925 in British Columbia, which was relatively highly urbanized, 58.2% of all teachers in 1925

were employed in rural schools; see Paul J. Stortz and J. Donald Wilson, "Education on the Frontier: Schools, Teachers, and Community Influence in North-Central British Columbia," *Histoire sociale* 26, 52 (Nov. 1993): 267. In the same year in Ontario, half the elementary school teachers in the province (50.2%) still worked in rural schools (versus city, town, or even village schools). In 1926, 66.8% of elementary school teachers in Saskatchewan were in rural schools, and 61% of all teachers in Alberta: DBS, *Annual Survey 1926*, 92-95 (our calculations). By 1929-30, in five provinces (Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia), just over half of all teachers (52.3%) still worked in rural schools: DBS, *Annual Survey 1930*, 61-69 (our calculations). In eight provinces in 1937, 35% of teachers worked in one-room schools (and this does not include a significant number of two- and three-teacher rural schools): DBS, *The Size Factor in One-Room Schools*, Education Bulletin No. 3, 1938.

As to the number of one-room rural schools, they comprised 79% or more of the school buildings in six provinces in 1923, and the national average was nearly 84%. Please see our calculations, DBS, *Annual Survey 1923*, Table 81, p. 53. In Alberta in 1920, 91.6% of school buildings were "one department" schools: Alberta, *AR 1920*, 153. As late as 1944, 74% of Ontario's elementary schools had but a single classroom: Ontario, *AR 1944*, 107. For the sheer number of one-room rural schools on the prairies, see two very telling maps in *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. III, Plate 33 (Saskatchewan 1931), and DBS, *Annual Survey 1931*, xlvi (Alberta). These figures on schools do not give us a percentage for rural teachers out of total teachers since the graded schools absorbed larger numbers. But the data do indicate the remarkably large number of schools staffed by a single teacher.

11. Salary Differentials by Gender

We note in the text that differentials were not modest and most increased over time and according to the size of the community. Some examples help to illustrate this. In Alberta's towns in 1907, for example, the majority of women teachers, those with second-class certificates, earned 65% on average of the salaries of their male counterparts (compared to 99% in rural schools). The small number of women with first-class certificates earned only 62% of the salaries of men with the same certificates. In village schools, the figures were 84% and 88%

respectively. By 1926, in town schools, more women held second-class certificates and earned 83% of the salaries of equivalently qualified men; but most men in town schools held first-class certificates, and the minority of women equally qualified earned only 65% of male salaries. Among first-class teachers in village schools, women made 70% of male salaries, and among teachers with second-class certificates (a majority of women but less than half the men), women earned 9%.[14] At the other end of the country, in 1924 the average salary of women teachers in Nova Scotia's village schools came to 67% of men's; in urban schools, it was 61%. In 1930 in that province's urban schools, the difference was even larger: women made only 52% of men's salaries.[15]

12. The Meaning of "Wages" and "Salaries"

In comparing teachers' salaries to earnings in other occupations, we often use the terms "wages," "salaries," and "earnings" interchangeably. Contemporaries tended to associate "wages" and "salaries" with social class and wealth. For census purposes in 1901, as Eric Sager points out, wages and salaries were deemed to have "a common meaning." But professional, managerial, and proprietorial work was thought to be distinguishable from other sorts of occupations: in the 1901 census, for example, these terms were linked to social class -- owners, officers, and managers of manufacturing establishments earned "salaries," and the "working

[14]Alberta, *AR 1907*, 22; DBS, *Annual Survey 1926*, 95. Rural school salary differentials were much smaller than urban in 1926 as well; in the most numerous group, teachers with second-class certificates, rural women earned 95% of male salaries. For a chart of provincial differences in Alberta according to certificate category, 1906-46, see Nancy M. Sheehan, "Women and Education in Alberta: The Rhetoric and the Reality," in *Exploring our Educational Past: Schooling in the North-West Territories and Alberta*, ed. Nick Kach and Kas Mazurek (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1992), 120.

[15]Nova Scotia, *AR 1924*, 18-21 (these figures are for Class B certificates); Nova Scotia, *AR 1930*, xvi. For examples of urban salaries for men and women in Saskatchewan, see Saskatchewan, *AR 1926*, 49, and *AR 1930*, 50. For Ontario, see *AR 1946*, 110.

class," "wages."[16] At a later date, Leonard Marsh defined the "line between wages and salaries" for all employed members of the labour force in 1931 as "somewhere within the $950-$1450 interval."[17]

13. Teachers' Weekly Wages

We sometimes use the average figures for weekly earnings of teachers and of other occupations provided by the censuses of 1921 and 1931. But it is important to note that these weekly earnings were derived from annual earnings divided by the *number of weeks employed*. Tables 21 and 22 in the 1931 census, vol. V, give the average number of weeks employed during the years of 1921 and 1931 for each occupation for which average weekly wages had been given in previous tables. The number of weeks worked in a year was reported as 48 or more for teachers; some other occupations, especially by 1931, reported a shorter work year. When one annualizes these figures by multiplying the weekly wage by weeks employed in the year, some occupations, with a shorter work year than others, had lower average annual earnings despite having higher weekly wages. Teachers may or may not have worked an entire 48 or 50-week year, but in any case that is irrelevant; the point is that one can recover the annual wages of each occupation by going through this exercise. And for both male and female teachers, annualization of wages results in changes in some rankings: for example, in 1921 among male occupations in British Columbia, professional engineers made higher average weekly earnings than did teachers, but less on an annual basis; in Alberta, the same was true of moulders and machinists compared to school teachers; in Nova Scotia, brick and stone masons and machinists made less annually. The relative standing of female teachers' salaries compared to other occupational

[16]*Census of Canada, 1901*, Vol. III, Manufactures, xi; Eric W. Sager, "Inequality, Earnings, and the Canadian Working Class in 1901," in *Household Counts: Canadian Households and Families in 1901*, ed. Eric W. Sager and Peter Baskerville (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 340.

[17]Leonard C. Marsh, *Canadians In and Out of Work: A Survey of Economic Classes and Their Relation to the Labour Market* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), 167.

earnings remained much the same, except in the case of Nova Scotia: female weavers in 1921 made higher average weekly wages than female teachers, but less annually, teachers fell below only hairdressers and telegraph operators. These changes do not cause major modifications in the argument about where the salaries of school teachers stood in relation to other occupations, although it is interesting to note the shifting status of teachers compared to other white-collar or to working-class jobs.

Again, if we annualize the figures in the 1931 census by the number of weeks employed in the year, there are some slight modifications because of differences in the total weeks worked. Recalculated, the national average salary per year for women teachers places them above graduate nurses; women teachers were thus still almost at the very top of occupational rankings. In Nova Scotia, both male and female teachers had annual salaries larger than those of some occupations that surpassed them on a weekly basis (construction foremen, machinists, stationary engineers among male occupations; furriers among women's). Ontario male teachers on an annual basis earned more than commercial travellers; female teachers more than telegraph operators. In Alberta and British Columbia, male teachers' salaries were lower than those of such occupations as brakemen and manufacturing foremen on a weekly basis, but higher in annual amounts.[18]

[18]See also the commentary on the impact of the number of weeks employed on weekly average earnings of males and females, nationally and by province (though not by occupation), in 1931 and 1941, in *Census of Canada, 1941*, vol. I, 345-50. For the figures by occupation in 1941, see ibid., vol. VI, Table 6.

14. The Interaction of Gender, Qualifications, Experience, and Rural or Urban Teaching on Salaries

As Dianne Hallman rightly notes, "salary differentiation on the basis of gender was a subtle, ambiguous issue. It must be considered in conjunction with teacher qualifications, length of teaching experience, and placement in rural or urban schools, factors which are difficult to unravel and isolate with respect to sex from the departmental data."[19] The only data we have been able to locate that cut through this problem are in the Ontario *Annual Reports* from 1928 to 1932: experience, qualifications, and rural or urban teaching are all correlated with both male and female average salaries, so we can attempt to gauge the influence of each factor on them.[20] Moreover, these salaries are for elementary school teachers only, so the figures are not skewed upwards by high school teachers' salaries.

First, for teachers with three years of teaching experience (in most cities and towns by this time, school boards preferred experienced teachers so we begin the comparison at that point), cross-tabulating the level of certificate by rural or urban teaching provides a consistent pattern of salary differences between men and women over the entire five-year record. In 1928, for example, men with first-class certificates and three years of experience earned an average of $1,227 in the rural schools, and women, $1,029, a difference of $198. Second-class-certificate teachers with the same amount of experience earned average salaries of $1,120 for men, $968 for women, a lesser difference of $152. However, in city schools, salaries of teachers with first-class certificates displayed a much greater differential after three years than in rural schools: for men, the average was $1,800, and for women, $1,031, for a difference of $769. And for teachers in the cities with second-class certificates and a similar degree of experience, the difference was less than for those in city schools with higher certificates but more than for their counterparts in the countryside: men earned an average of $1,564 and women, $1,025, for a difference of $539.

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[19]Dianne Hallman, '"A Thing of the Past': Teaching in One-Room Schools in Rural Nova Scotia, 1936-1941," *Historical Studies in Education* 4, 1 (Spring 1992): 120.

[20]The figures in the next two paragraphs are from Ontario, *AR 1928-AR 1931*, Table 3, and *AR 1932*, Table 11, our calculations.

Thus, the difference between male and female salaries varied consistently according to qualifications and place of teaching, with male salaries drawing ahead of female as one moves from rural to urban and from lower to higher certificate.

With increasing experience, the male-female salary differential almost invariably widened at all types of schools and for both first- and second-class certificates, as Table A3 illustrates for 1931. With five years of experience, a male teacher with a first-class certificate in a rural school made, on average, $330 more than his female counterpart; those with 11 to 15 years' experience made $565 more. Second-class certificates in the rural schools brought a smaller but still noticeable advantage: $150 and $342 more, respectively. In city schools, experience earned even greater rewards for men: five years of teaching translated into a salary advantage of $479 for first-class certificates and $254 for second-class. By the 11-15 year mark, that differential had increased to $1,032 and $581 respectively. It is clear that both experience and qualifications influenced salaries in a gendered pattern, and that the effects were greater in Ontario's cities than in the rural schools.

15. Our Micro-Study of Two Ontario Inspectorates

It is important to note that in section 14 above, our data for rural salaries are for teachers in *all* rural schools in Ontario, one-room and multi-grade alike. Despite the value of that record in separating out the influence of various factors on salaries, it combines the data on these two kinds of schools and the salaries of their teachers. Therefore we undertook a micro-analysis of two inspectorates in Ontario, using as our source, *Schools and Teachers of the Province of Ontario* (Toronto, 1911-1966), published annually. Organized by each inspectorate and then by each individual school within it, this record provides each teacher's name, salary, and certificates, as well as other information. We chose for our study two mainly rural inspectorates: Huron West, adjacent to Lake Huron, incorporating several rural townships, the town of Goderich, and the villages of Exeter, Hensall, and Bayfield (the last only in 1920 and 1925); and Leeds and Grenville No. 1, which ran north from the town of Gananoque, just east of Kingston on the St. Lawrence River, up to the villages of Westport and Newboro, and incorporated the rural townships between and adjacent to these centres. From their records we calculated, for the

years 1920, 1925, 1930, 1935, and 1938, and by gender, the average salaries of teachers in rural one-room schools; of principals and assistants in the rural multi-teacher schools; and of principals and assistants in schools in the towns. The results for selected years are given in Table A4. We then give a finer breakdown of these figures according to the certificate level of teachers, in Table A5. Combining the records of the two inspectorates provides large enough numbers for analysis, but it tends to wash out some of the differences between the two, as one would expect; thus we provide results for each inspectorate separately in Tables A6 and A7. Huron West was rich farm country, in contrast to hardscrabble Leeds/Grenville on the edge of the Canadian Shield; teachers in the former inspectorate tended to be better qualified, and better paid, than in the latter. Taken together, the two inspectorates provide a clear pattern of the differences between male and female salaries by place and by certificate. Especially for individual inspectorates, however, the figures also reveal the typical lack of a grid for rural salaries: women might occasionally be paid more than men, teachers with lower certificates sometimes earned more than those with higher, and, we suspect, teachers with experience but lower certificates, or simply teachers willing to remain in the same school, could negotiate with their trustees for higher salaries.[21]

The effect of experience on salaries is important, and we attempted to isolate that factor by calculating the percentage of teachers who remained within the inspectorates from 1920 to 1925, and again from 1925 to 1930. Because we cannot trace individual teachers beyond the boundaries of the inspectorates, we may well have missed some who continued to teach but moved to schools in a neighbouring inspectorate or elsewhere; the percentages would probably be higher if we could link all records. An interval of less than five years would also have recorded somewhat lower turnover rates. Nevertheless, the figures are revealing. In Huron West

[21]For documentation of a similar lack of correlation between teachers' salaries and their qualifications, though not for men and women separately, in 1930-31 in Manitoba rural one-room schools, see W.G. Pierce, "Factors affecting the Efficiency of Teachers in the One-Room Rural Schools of the Province of Manitoba," University of Manitoba, Faculty of Education and Education Alumni Research Bulletin, Jan. 1937, mimeograph, 25.

in 1925, some 92% of rural teachers had less than five years' experience, whereas only 42% of urban teachers had been teaching for less than five years. In Leeds/Grenville, the figures were 90% and 63%. By 1930 in Huron West, 87% of rural and 43% of urban teachers had less than five years' experience; in Leeds/Grenville, 88% and 50%. These figures, even if approximate, illustrate the huge turnover of teachers in rural areas, the large urban/rural differential, and the continuance of both through the 1920s.

It is possible that in our two inspectorates, the length of experience in teaching might partially account for differences in the salaries of men and women, as the provincial Ontario record suggests. It would require a much larger, computerized study to trace individual teachers over time and throughout a larger number of inspectorates when mobility rates were so high, especially in the rural schools. The few teachers in rural schools that we have been able to trace over 5-year periods tended, along with longer experience, to have somewhat higher salaries, whether male or female. The limitations of the record allow only tentative conclusions about the effect of experience added to certification and gender on salaries, but even with the small numbers in our inspectorates, we can observe the tendency of both men and women with longer experience to have higher salaries than those with less. In 1930 in Huron West, for example, in the rural schools, both men and women with between five and ten years' experience made about $1000 (one out of the nine held a first-class certificate, the others, second-class); with less than five years' experience, and second-class certificates (the more common category), men averaged $963 and women actually surpassed them, at $990. It might seem an anomaly, then, that men with less than five years' experience and a first-class certificate in the rural schools made, on average, $1150, while the equivalent average for women was $983. The reason is that many of the men were principals of multi-teacher schools and received larger salaries for that reason.

16. The Great Depression: When did it begin for public education?

The reader may note that we treat, as a terminal point for our discussion of the "late 1920s," the years 1930 or even 1931. While the private sector may have begun to falter in 1929 or even earlier, public expenditure on elementary and secondary education did not peak until 1931 or 1932 in some provinces and thus teachers' salaries were slow to feel the full effects of

the Depression. In British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, the high point of public investment in education came in 1929; in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick, not until 1931; in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, 1932.[22] Manitoba was something of an exception. After years of annual increases, its spending peaked in 1923. A sharp dip occurred in the following year, and while modest increases occurred in the late 1920s, the province was still spending less in 1930 than in 1923, the result of tight expenditure controls imposed by the Bracken government, which restrained education costs even in the relatively prosperous years of the late 1920s.[23]

17. Urban Salary Reductions in the Depression

Because of the variations by category and local circumstance there is no easy way to summarize the extent of urban salary reductions or to date the beginnings of restoration. Thus figures cited by both contemporaries and historians will vary (as do our own sources). Sometimes reductions were uniform for male and female teachers (for example, for high school teachers in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Ottawa, and Toronto, for both maximum and minimum salaries; for elementary teachers in Calgary, a 20% cut to the maximum salary, and 33% to the minimum). In places there was a difference in the percentage cut from men's and women's salaries, though it is not easy to perceive a pattern: for example, in Vancouver, a 31% decrease in the maximum salary for male elementary teachers, versus 23% for women; in Winnipeg, the figures were 24% and 15%. The differential between male and female salaries in dollar amounts continued however. See the relevant tables in CTF, *Trends*, 81-111. See also, for Winnipeg, Mary Kinnear, '"Mostly for the Male Members': Teaching in Winnipeg, 1933-1966 ," *Historical*

[22]For the percentage of each provincial budget devoted to education, 1913-1938, see Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Appendix 1, Statement 36.

[23]See John Kendle, *John Bracken: A Political Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 26-39. On the provincially imposed restrictions on educational spending in the later 1920s, see Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson, *The Development of Education in Manitoba* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendal/Hunt, 1984), 107.

Studies in Education 6, 2 (Fall 1994): 6-7, and Rosa del C. Bruno-Jofré, "The Manitoba Teachers' Federation, 1919-1933: The Quest for Professional Status," in *Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba: From the Construction of the Common School to the Politics of Voice*, ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré (Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellon Press, 1993), 343-49. In New Brunswick, salaries were cut by 15% on average in 1933; see Picot, *Teacher Training in New Brunswick*, 78.

For other examples of reductions, see Manitoba, *Report, Royal Commission on the Municipal Finance and Administration of the City of Winnipeg*, 1939, 111, Table 5; Public Archives of Alberta, 79.334, Correspondence with other provinces, Saskatchewan, 1928-34, Deputy Minister, Alberta, to Deputy Minister, Saskatchewan, 22 April 1932 (Lethbridge); Norman H. Fergusson, *The Story of the Nova Scotia Teachers Union* (Armdale, NS: Nova Scotia Teachers Union, 1990), 60 (Halifax and Glace Bay); Nova Scotia, *AR 1933*, xxix; *Blairmore Enterprise*, 13 July 1933 (Blairmore and Coleman, Alberta); London Board of Education, *AR 1931*, 6 and 8, and *AR 1933*, 16; *BC Teacher* XI, 8 (April 1932): 1-2; John Archer, *Honoured with the Burden: A History of the Regina Board of Education* ([Regina: Regina Board of Education, 1987]), 64-65 (Regina).

For two good graphs that trace salary declines and break them down more finely, see, for all Ontario teachers, for men urban and rural, and for women urban and rural, Ontario, *AR 1939*, 174; for Alberta teachers in town and city schools; in all urban, village, separate, and rural schools; and in all schools, see *ATA Magazine* XX, 9 (May 1940): 8. Both graphs show salaries beginning to rise in 1935 or 1936. For the restoration of salaries see also *The School* 23, 8 (April 1935): 650. Most other provinces provide helpful tabular breakdowns on salaries: for British Columbia, for example, in the *Annual Reports* (city, rural municipality, rural and assisted, though not by gender). See also Nason, "Canadian Teachers' Federation," 61-62.